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THE STRUGGLE FOR GERMANY

By William Henry Chamberlin

Secretary Byrnes' Paris speech of October 4, like that at Stuttgart on September 6, was a belated yet timely response to the fact that one of the critical political struggles of our time is taking place in Germany, and that the United States is vitally interested in the outcome of that struggle. The war with Germany is over. The struggle between Western democracy and Eastern totalitarianism for Germany is just beginning.

There is little or no danger of an independent revival of Nazism and militarism in Germany. Comparisons with what happened after the First World War are misleading because the ruin, devastation and destruction in Germany now are so immensely greater than was the case in 1918. There is hardly a single city with a population of more than 100,000 which has not been at least half destroyed. Germany's war losses must be counted as exceeding four million; the fate of some two or three million war prisoners in the Soviet Union is doubtful; and Germany's relative weight in the European population scale seems likely to decline because of the greatly increased infant mortality and the higher general death rate among older people.

Yet there is a genuine German danger. It is the peril that the German people, with their technical knowledge and labor skills, their indestructible gift for organization, may fall completely into the orbit of the great Eastern totalitarian State. In that event Russia could be expected first to harness German energies, then to direct them against the West.

During a recent stay of three weeks in Germany, in the course of which I visited Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Frankfurt and a number of smaller towns, I became keenly conscious of the reality and imminence of this peril. Mr. Byrnes has not spoken any too soon.

From the moment when Germany was divided into four occupation zones, the prostrate and shattered country, deprived of any kind of central administration, even of any national flag, became a battle ground of conflicting and divergent national policies. The Russians have been

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playing the boldest game and for the biggest stakes.

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Their objective, which has been unfolding with increasing clarity during recent months, is nothing short of the domination of the whole of Germany. A satellite party, the SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany), is the organ of administration, and Soviet military government officials and Moscow-trained German Communists are making the important decisions. The SED emerged last spring as a result of a shotgun wedding between the Communist and Social Democratic parties in the Soviet zone. Social Democrats who opposed the merger and who did not escape to the Western zones were apt to find themselves looking out from behind the familiar barbed wire of Buchenwald.

The SED has been getting the support of the Soviet occupation authorities in every conceivable way. A rise in food rations, or the release of some war prisoners, is regularly preceded by a much-publicized request from the satellite party. The Social Democratic Party is not permitted to function in the Soviet zone, although it still carries on activity in the city of Berlin, which is under joint four-power administration.

The Soviet authorities frequently whisper that Germany may regain at least some of the territory which has been provisionally given to Poland. This whispering campaign was temporarily checked by Molotov's statement of September 16, affirming the permanence of the provisional Polish frontier. But it is doubtful whether the last has been heard of the hint that territorial concessions in the East may be the reward of a politically subservient Germany.

Any Nazi can obtain an amnesty for his political past by the simple process of joining the SED. The Soviet military authorities have also shown a good deal of intelligence and flexibility in giving a status of full social equality to those Germans whom they find useful. Another part of their strategy for the ultimate conquest of all Germany is the creation of impossibly bad social and economic conditions in the Western zones. The forced influx of destitute refugees is useful here.

Adroit as Soviet tactics unmistakably are, the Soviet plan for the conquest of Germany is affected by two serious handicaps.

First, there are the savage outrages against the population, the orgies of rape and looting which marked the first weeks of the Soviet occupation of Berlin and other German cities. All invading armies commit excesses, but nonpartisan German testimony is generally to the effect that the Russians went far beyond what is normal. Discipline has now been tightened; but life and property are still less secure in

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the Russian zone than in the western areas.

Second, there is the Soviet desire to squeeze all possible production out of Germany. Most of the shoes, clothing and other consumption goods produced in the Russian zone goes to the Red Army or is exported to Russia, leaving very little for the German population. These two handicaps should make it possible for the West to outbid the East in Germany, but only on the assumption that the United States and Great Britain adopt a more constructive policy than has prevailed so far.

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While Great Britain has been ahead of America in the clarity and sobriety of its thinking about post-war Germany, the British have faced perhaps the most difficult administrative job of all in their zone. This includes a high proportion of shattered cities and big towns and an altogether inadequate agricultural hinterland. Unless and until there is a large revival of German foreign trade, the British zone is doomed to suffer a severe food shortage.

If Germany is to be integrated with the West, America must give the decisive lead. England is so weakened and impoverished by the war that there are sharp limits on its capacity to aid German reconstruction, even though recent English comment reflects a swing toward a more moderate and constructive public opinion. France has neither power nor desire to think in terms of an economically united Western and Central Europe.

Secretary Byrnes' speech at Stuttgart, with its affirmation of desire for a responsible central government of a federated Germany; its opposition to impossible reparations demands and to the mutilation of Germany by the separation of the Ruhr and the Rhineland; its intimation that Germany's eastern frontier has not been fixed, was a badly needed beacon of hope and encouragement to Germans who think in terms of Western liberalism. The concluding sentences might be posted up prominently in all AMG offices in Germany:

> "The American people want to return the government of Germany to the German people. The American people want to help the German people to win their way back to an honorable place among the free and peace-loving nations of the world."

The implementation of this policy will require drastic changes in the spirit and methods of the American occupation. With all due recognition of such achievements of the Military Government as the prevention of epidemics, the restoration of public services, the delegation of some administrative authority to the Germans, the occupation has been unnecessarily hard and dehumanized.

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IV

If the Byrnes policy is to become a reality, the following reforms should be put into effect immediately. Association of Americans and Germans on terms of complete social equality should be encouraged, not discouraged. There should be no Nazi-like master-race practices, such as the ban on marriage between Americans and Germans; the refusal to Germans of the right to share washroom facilities in public places. The German press and radio should be freed from petty and irritating and often uninformed American supervision. All restrictions on mail communication between Germany and the outside world should cease and a reasonable exchange of visits between like-minded Germans and Americans should be encouraged.

Above all, there should be a vigorous promotion of German foreign trade and the Potsdam decisions, long ignored by the Russians, should be tossed out of the window.

There is an unlimited need in Germany for new housing and for all kinds of manufactured goods, shoes, clothing, etc. A vigorous policy of promoting output of building materials and reconstruction would relieve the demoralizing idleness which one finds among the younger people and would be the best means of assuring all Germans that the Byrnes speech marks a constructive turn for the better. Indiscriminate requisitioning of houses to provide accommodation for arriving American dependents, a most unpopular occupation policy, should also cease.

German businessmen, instead of being treated as suspected criminals, should be given all possible facilities to resume the foreign trade connections which alone can help to make the combined American and British zones self-supporting without large charitable outlays from abroad. Bleak as the present outlook is, German industry and inherited scientific knowledge and working skills could lead to rapid improvement if Washington and London were clearly committed to integrating as much of Germany as possible with the economy of the Western World.

The quicker we set to work to realize a positive policy of this kind (perhaps with a first-rate civil commissioner in Germany to see that it is enforced) the better it will be for our national interest. For if we lose the struggle for Germany, we shall be in just as unpleasant, precarious and exposed a position as we should have faced had Hitler won the last war and built the vast Eurasian empire of his dreams.

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Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events VOL. III, NO. 41

By Frank C. Hanighen October 9, 1946

The Communists have planted their most important fifth column in Latin America in a country with which the United States has enjoyed closer ties than with any other southern republic. A visitor finds the Cubans most friendly to the United States. Therefore, this correspondent on a recent trip to Cuba, noting conspicuous signs of Communist power, could not fail to conclude that the Comintern had sought to discredit United States influence throughout Latin America by undermining it in the country where it has enjoyed the greatest prestige.

The Popular Socialist Party (the Cuban Communist Party) has an estimated 150,000 members; one of the largest Communist parties in the hemisphere. The Party has a newspaper, Hoy, the third largest in daily circulation in Havana; and radio stations in Havana and Camaguey. The Party's delegation in Congress has been large enough to give it a great bargaining advantage. But the greatest source of Communist power lies in control of the trade union federation, the Cuban Federation of Workers (CTC). Only a small fraction of the CTC's 500,000 members are Communists, but the Party dominates the hierarchy.

It is believed that the CTC provides most of the Party funds, although money from Moscow may augment these. Besides help from labor union treasuries, blackmail of employers is widely reported. An employer who has trouble among his factory workers can find surcease by placing some of his advertising in Hoy.

Cuban Communists, it is said, get their orders from the American Communist Party in New York, which of course takes its commands from Moscow. But the presence in Havana of a Soviet Legation with a large staff of 30 suggests that there is a direct circuit to Moscow.

What is the chief objective of these activities? Well, a visitor to Havana recently could stroll into the Plaza Maceo -- with its splendid backdrop of the ultramarine Caribbean -- and hear a Communist orator, gesticulating beneath the statue of Maceo, mulatto hero of the Cuban independence struggle, tell an audience of workers how the United States persecutes the negro. This is sure-fire stuff with the Cuban working-class, which numbers many negroes and mulattoes.

Perusal of Hoy provides more material of this sort. Byrnes is attacked and Molotov defended, under banner headlines. A news item reveals that a local trade union has become terribly excited about the Near East and has passed resolutions about the "reactionary forces" in Turkey. Sugar workers all at once, it seems, come to the profound conclusion that the United States seeks a base for "imperialism" in "democratic Yugoslavia." This is an echo of a not unsuccessful Communist campaign against U. S. bases which took place some months ago. Our bases, built on Cuban territory during the war, have subsequently been evacuated and left to rust and ruin.

Cuba, every piece of evidence indicates, is the GHQ of the Communist network throughout Latin America. Formerly situated in Mexico City, when Soviet Ambassador Oumansky was alive, these headquarters are believed to function now from Havana.

Why does the Cuban Government tolerate this situation? All eyes are directed at President Grau San Martin. Grau, a sincere liberal, fought the Communists in his election campaign in 1944. He won, but by such a small margin that he had to depend on the support of the Communists. Hence the Communist progress in Cuba.

The situation may change. The recent Congressional elections, from which Grau's party emerged triumphant, have freed him from the necessity of having Communist support in Congress. Meanwhile, his anti-Communist friends in the labor

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federation are growing in power. A showdown with the Communists is expected in the annual convention of the CTC in December. It is up to Grau, say observers, to break with the Communists and to destroy the power of Moscow's fifth column in Cuba.

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Democracy rides triumphant over dictatorship in Cuba, and the chronic evil in Latin American countries -- caudillismo (personal dictatorship) -- went out with the most recent caudillo, Colonel Batista. Representative government and free elections have had a troubled history in Cuba since the founding of the Republic. That is no reflection on the Cubans, for it must be remembered that Cuba has existed as an independent State only since 1902, whereas the rest of the Latin American countries won freedom over 100 years ago. With President Grau San Martin, an intelligent man of great integrity, Cuba seems to have entered a period of real democracy. But the mild-mannered professor who is President must now grapple with another malady than personal dictatorship -- government control. This is the issue in a controversy now raging in Cuba, but barely reported in the United States.

The United States buys the bulk of Cuban sugar, the country's largest crop and greatest economic asset. Recently Washington raised the price of sugar, and Cuban sugar producers anticipated happy days. But President Grau stepped in and proposed that the Cuban Government appropriate the additional amount which would accrue from Washington's action -- that is, the "differential." He wishes to employ the money to subsidize the price of three imported food commodities which are staples of the diet of the masses -- rice, flour and lard; in short, to hold down the cost of living of the people. These commodities are comparatively scarce and prices have been rising sharply. Certainly, Grau has a case.

The sugar interests, planters and refiners, sprang to arms; and a heated battle is waged in press, radio, forum and Congress. Within the past few weeks, some planters have reportedly started to cut down production as an answer to Grau. Thus governmental control threatens to result in a mess similar to that caused in the United States by OPA.

Grau is sometimes compared to Truman -- sincere, but weak and vacillating; he may back down in his sugar policy. In any case, the fate of his proposal will register the progress or decline of "big government" in Cuba. And it cannot fail to have its effect on the problems of the American housewife.

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As we listened to a Communist orator on a Havana radio program bawling a condemnation of "capitalismo internacional" for the ills of Cuba, we reflected on the longevity of political myths. For, if statistics have any meaning, American sugar interests and American banks can hardly be blamed for economic and political troubles on that island.

American banks have liquidated all their long-term loans to Cuban sugar interests. Furthermore, out of 161 sugar mills, Cuban capital owns 102, American, 49, and other foreign interests, 10. As for production, 49 per cent comes from American-owned refineries; 45.1 from Cuban; 3.5 from Canadian; 2.4 from Spanish. Inasmuch as the United States Department of Agriculture fixes the price for the bulk of the Cuban sugar crop, it would seem as if the New Deal government should be blamed for its "imperialistic" hold on the neighboring republic, rather than "capitalismo internacional."

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Latin American civility toward the actions, not to say the antics, of the "Colossus of the North" should not be mistaken for approval. We asked a Havana pub-

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lisher for his opinion of the Braden policy and got a florid tribute to the virtues of Mr. Braden's character. The fact is that this publisher's daily, and others in the Cuban capital, while not openly disapproving were noticeably cool towards the attempt by our Assistant Secretary of State to play toreador to Perón's bull. Resident observers say that Cubans in private scathingly criticize our interventionist policy.

Similarly, the Nuremberg affair did not receive the smug accolade given by the United States press. Cubans did not go as far as the Colombian Senate which voted a clemency appeal for the condemned Nazis. But the morning after the announcement of the verdict we noted what appeared to be a typical piece of Latin American tact in the Mundo. The editorial page ran a piece entitled "Bayardismo." This mouth-filling word was coined by the writer to signify the spirit of Bayard, medieval exponent of chivalry -- chivalry not only to the weak and humble, but also to the vanquished foe. Did the Mundo scribe really mean the sordid crew who faced the tribunal? The article might merely have been intended as an exposition of the tragic decline of "Bayardismo" in a world of new and unchivalrous weapons. But it also could have been interpreted as a subtle Latin rebuke of the vengeful process at Nuremberg. "Bayardismo," said the writer, "basically is simply civilization."

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Our Leftist press has recently retired into a puzzling silence about Trujillo, President of the Dominican Republic. Formerly he rated a high place among the villains in the day-to-day "anti-Fascist" melodrama, the medium used by Leftist commentators to present their picture of international affairs. He has, in truth, been an unscrupulous and bloody despot, deserving far more the criticism of really democratic elements than Perón or other Latin American caudillos. The key to the mystery of why Trujillo has been yanked back into the wings of the Leftist melodrama was suggested to us by Cubans who watch the affairs of Caribbean countries.

A year ago, Trujillo would have barred any Communists or Leftists who sought admittance to his country. But within the last six months prominent figures of the Cuban Communist Party have made trips to the Dominican Republic to help form a Communist party. It is believed that they have done this at Trujillo's invitation. It is not difficult, therefore, to understand the new attitude of our Leftist press.

But why has this Dominican leader, formerly anti-Communist, taken such a step? Trujillo, say these Cubans, thinks he can use the Communists in rallying waning support among the masses in his country. He also seeks to follow the strategy recently adopted by Perón: to employ the international force of Russian Communism as a card in the foreign policy game. Among the more democratic Latin American nations there has arisen a movement advocating the breaking of diplomatic relations with the Dominican Government, because of Trujillo's dictatorial form of government. Additionally, the Dominican leader has his troubles with the adjoining republic of Haiti. And he may anticipate differences with the United States. This Trujillo-Perón pattern of action bears watching.

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The Cuban Communists charge that the American FBI is forming an "international Gestapo" to wipe out "liberty of political thought," and they point to a recent meeting of the International Association of Police Chiefs in Mexico City, in which J. Edgar Hoover is a prominent figure. Hoover's record in the past decade has been marked by great respect for civil liberties and few Americans can take the Communist accusation seriously. But it is a fact that the United States Government both through its intelligence services and the FBI is watching closely the activities of the Comintern in Latin American countries.

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Notes and Quotes

Political courage contrasted with political poltroonery in the American scene during the past week. While President Truman manifested such fear of the Jewish vote that he further muddled the already dangerous Palestine situation by an appeal for more Jewish immigration into that area, Senator Robert A. Taft made a brave attack on the Nuremberg trials. It was a daring act for a Presidential aspirant to criticize with such forthrightness an international judicial process favored by most of the Nation's press and, momentarily, by many voters. But that is Bob Taft's way, as any Washington reporter can testify. At a Conference on the Heritage of the English-Speaking Peoples, at Gambier, Ohio, on October 5, Taft said:

"I believe that most Americans view with discomfort the war trials which have just been concluded in Germany and are proceeding in Japan. They violate that fundamental principle of American law that a man cannot be tried under an ex post facto statute. The hanging of the 11 men convicted at Nuremberg will be a blot on the American record which we shall long regret.

"The trial of the vanquished by the victors cannot be impartial no matter how it is hedged about with the forms of justice. About this whole judgment there is the spirit of vengeance, and vengeance is seldom justice.

"In these trials we have accepted the Russian idea of the purpose of trials, government policy and not justice, having little relation to Anglo-Saxon heritage. I pray that we do not repeat the procedure in Japan."

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Prospects for an end of the "ancient grudge" are heralded by Douglas Reed's news letter, Tidings, published at 7 Montpelier Street, London, S. W. 7, England. "There is a new friendliness between Britain and Eire, difficult to convey in print. It has nothing to do with UNO and little to do with the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is hardly political at all, although it may have been sprung from the mellowing of political tempers, and from the recent war in which so many Irishmen served or worked in British war factories. Today in Eire the Englishman is less a stranger than he ever was. He is more welcome, and the welcome does not spring merely from self interest, although the prospect of a profit from his stay naturally enhances the warmth of the welcome.

"On the other hand, English people are getting to know Eire better. Here at their doorstep is a country that blends some parts of progress with a peace and quiet that recall the England of, say, fifty years ago. Outside the towns green fields and mountains stretch as far as the eye can see. This intermingling of peoples who twenty-five years ago were enemies and strangers is big with promise of greater mutual appreciation and tolerance. It may bind the two islands of the European Atlantic into a unit of political and economic concord that would offer an example to a world divided by hatred and misunderstanding."

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Blueprint for World Conquest, published by HUMAN EVENTS, Inc., reached the bookstores on October 5. This volume, containing the Constitution, Program, Theses and Statutes of the Communist International, with an interpretative introduction by William Henry Chamberlin, is already drawing praise from reviewers and others. Congresswoman Claire Boothe Luce says: "Blueprint for World Conquest is a factual and startling revelation of exactly who and what is now delaying the establishment of peace. This collection of official Kremlin documents leaves no mystery as to the precise aims of Soviet policies and actions. It is an indispensable guide to clear understanding of today's and tomorrow's headlines." Blueprint for World Conquest (price $3.50) may be obtained from your local bookseller or from our business office: HUMAN EVENTS, Inc., 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Illinois. (Adv.)

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